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ABSTRACT

The major dimensions of ethnicity are examined in this paper. The first section reviews research literature in three content areas--ethnicity, stratification, and communication and in each of these areas generates hypotheses based on the available evidence in sociological, anthropological, and psychological literature. The second section of the paper develops a theoretical model with 31 propositional statements that reflect a concern for the systematic study of ethnicity. (FI)

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A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF ETHNICITY, COMMUNICATION AND URBAN STRATIFICATION

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A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF

ETHNICITY, COMMUNICATION AND URBAN STRATIFICATION

The persistence of ethnicity and ethnic group attachments has been the subject of various myths in advanced industrial "immigrant countries" such as the United States and Canada. Despite all the forces of urbanization, industrialization and social mobility in complex modern societies, there has been increasing flourish of national/racial consciousness among ethnic and regional minorities in America and Canada in recent years. Though Canadians have long maintained ethnic pluralism to be the goal in their "mosaic" society, there has recently been concern that racial differences would complicate the picture. In the United States, on the other hand, the traditional symbol of "melting pot" society has met with increasing disfavor in recent years. The rise of ethnic power movements in the United States during the 1960's has cast considerable doubt upon the validity of the melting pot process by which ethnic minorities were thought to assimilate into the homogeneous American society. Novak and Schermerhorn note the racially tense and alienated atmosphere of recent years in which the new focus on ethnicity and ethnic pluralism has developed in America.[1] In the face of more visible and demanding ethnic movements, the American public has gradually shifted away from the ideal of homogenized culture toward one of cultural diversity and ethnic pluralism.

The renewed interest in ethnics in America also comes at a time when urban scholars are focusing on the need of redevelopment of the cores of metropolitan areas. Life still centers around ethnic enclaves in many city neighborhoods, though their numbers have been diminished somewhat. Ethnic groups have appeared in surburban areas and newly arrived immigrant groups (e.g., South Americans, Filipinos, Jamaicans, Koreans, Vietnamese) are recons-

tituting themselves in both the cities and surburbs. A resurgence has also been noted among scholars concerned with ethnicity. Since Gordon's influential work in which he formulated the concept of "ethclass,"[2] numerous studies have focused on the extent to which ethnics have become acculturated or assimilated.

The present paper examines major dimensions of ethnicity throuhg a review of the literature and presents a theoretical model with propositional statements reflecting a concern for the systematic study of ethnicity. Here we will examine the relationship between ethnicity, communication and urban stratification. It is the notion of stratification based on class-economic position, which has generated so much attention and disagreement in sociology and ethnic research. Some have tied class to mobility, the end of ethnic neighborhoods, and ethnic interaction and identification; others have rejected the hypothesized relationship between ethnic assimilation, social class and mobility. This disagreement is often due to the different concepts, levels and units of analysis utilized in ethnic research, however. The literature is replete often with researchers looking at the "same" things with different operational indicators, depending on the level of analysis and whether the analytic models are statis or dynamic. In a static model, for example, residential segregation coincides with particular patterns of interaction, leading us to conclude that the latter led to segregated ethnic groups, while a dynamic model identifies interaction patterns that help maintain far-flung, scattered ethnic group members. The literature also often discriminates between different types of empirical changes (e.g., assimilation, acculturation, development of class and ethnic consciousness), although these changes are all based on the cultural origins of ethnic groups.

Furthermore, what is the communication "component" in these change processes? Often ignored or "assumed" under rubrics of "interaction" or "linkages," communication includes both interpersonal and mass communication.

Though communication is often defined as the sending and receiving of messages or encoding of symbols into messages, researchers have increasingly employed dyadic concepts to understand communication processes. This leads us to consider networks and patterns of communication linking people to each other and into larger collective units such as ethnic groups. Communication networks hold social systems together, yet relatively little attention has been paid to relationships between communication channels and characteristics of such systems, heterogeneity and stratification. Ethnic groups depend on interpersonal and mass communication networks to coordinate their activities. Increased urban problems have likely prompted greater reliance on ethnic communication channels to meet the demands of the external environment. As ethnic migration to the U.S. and Canada is still continuing, how will the "newer" immigrants fit into these industrial, urban societies in relations with the "older" immigrants? Thus, our discussion centers around primarily on these "immigrant" countries and ignores places where ethnic self-determination movements may result in the creation of a new nation-state.

The present paper will be divided into two parts: one examing the relevant literature in ethnicity and the other developing a theory based on the available evidence in the literature. In the first part, we will examine the research literature in three content areas: ethnicity, stratification and communication. In each of these areas, we will generate hypotheses based on the available evidence in sociological, anthropological, and psychological literature regarding ethnicity, stratification and communication. In the second part, we will develop and present a theoretical model with propositional statements specifying empirically-testable relationships. The study is exploratory in nature. The relevant empirical studies will be used primarily as guides to suggest the theory. In most instances, the evidence is conflicting to offer substantial support for our theoretical arguments. Therefore, the

evidence will be used only to suggest our theoretical propositions. However, we will make an attempt to state the theory in such a way that it can at least be tested and thereofore supported or rejected. For such a purpose, we will present sets of specific variables and their operational indicators pertinent to the study of ethnicity, communication and urban stratification.

Literature Review

Ethnicity

The term "ethnicity" refers to "the socialization process by which individuals in involuntary groups inherit and share the common culture of their group" and the term "ethnic group" refers to a cultural subsystem of larger societies in which a group of people share a common and distinctive culture.[3] Leckenby notes that ethnicity is essentially concerned with the relational aspects of group life or the social bond in human groups and the term "ethnic group" is being used increasingly as an overall term for cultural, religious, national, linguistic or even purely social groups.[4] Clearly, then, the term "ethnicity" consists of multi-dimensional concepts and requires utilization of concepts from different levels and units of analysis including societies, cultures, groups and individuals. In this paper we focus primarily on ethnic groups and individual. Though our propositional statements will be based on the individual level of analysis, attention will also be paid to the relationships between group-level concepts. Some of the pertinent groups are: spatial inclusives (e.g., cities and neighborhoods), ascriptively-identified groups (e.g., national origin and race), achievement-designated groups (e.g., class and occupation), and intimate primary groups (e.g., spouses and friends).

As regarding to the concepts of ethnicity, we distinguish between two categories of ethnicity: psychological aspects of ethnicity where the individual remains cognizant of his own ethnic group and culture and maintains

cognitive and attitudinal traits that are common to his group, and behavioral or participatory aspects of ethnicity which are based on shared behavioral similarities among members of the same ethnic group. The former includes such concepts as ethnic self-identity, self-image or steretype, and self-esteem; the latter deals with objective charactersitics of ethnicity, such as ethnic parents, ethnic marriage, language use, and group membership.

Researchers concerned with psychological aspects of ethnicity have been interested primarily in ethnic identity, and most of them has dealt with cultural identity factors.[5] Ethnic identity examined in these studies describes the extent to which members of an ethnic group consider their ingroup an essential part of their self-identification. Are they proud of their ingroup? Does it provide them with a rich heritage? Do they wish to remember it or remain as members if they are given a choice? Thus, ethnic identification refers to the degree of self-identity with respect to ingroup affirmation or ingroup denial and requires formation and development of self-stereotype/image, self-esteem, and self-evaluation. This can also include the idea of discrepancy between ingroup members' real and ideal identification. Using Lewin's theory, there is the concept of marginality in ethnic identity that refers to the uncertain position of persons experiencing two cultures but identified with neither.[6] Brigham's literature review in ethnic stereotypes shows that there is considerable variance on how widely or intensely an ethnic stereotype/image is held, though there is also considerable agreement between ethnic groups on the components of their own stereotypes/images.[7]

Studies examining the pattern of relationships between self-identity, self-esteem and self-image show that these components of ethnicity are generally intercorrelated. Assessing the relationship between self-image and cultrual identity factors, McCormick and Balla note that people attached more

to Lebanese culture show less image disparity between actual and ideal self-image.[8] Gardner argues that ethnic stereotypes have a more reliable and predictable effect on ethnic identity because in concensus there is anticipated group soupport.[9] Zak notes that self-esteem adds explained variance to ethnic identification; in his Lsraeli study, self-esteem and Arab identification are correlated among the Arab minority in Israel.[10]

Another common concept examined in ethnic research has dealt with ethnic characteristics that are based on shared behavioral similarities among members of the same ethnic group. Stemmed largely from the theory of structuralism, researchers in this area take a holistic view of human behavior and emphasize the underlying relationships between categories of behavior -- the underlying structure.[11] Thus, this includes not only behavioral, participational acts with respect to ethnic group, but also such aggregative concepts as class, occupation and status. Here ethnicity is analyzed either in terms of certain ethnic characteristics (e.g., national origin, ethnic parents, language, customs), or in terms of participatory behaviors (e.g., ethnic marriage, friendship, neighborhood, participation in voluntary associations). These different types of concepts are then considered within and/or across different levels of analysis, such as class, occupation and status.

In our study, as mentioned earlier, we distinguish between two catego ries of ethnicity -- psychological and behavioral-participational. We expect that psychological aspects of ethnicity are not coterminous with objective, behavioral characteristics of ethnicity. Cognitive and attitudinal traits of ethnicity may be held regardless of actual social behavior, though two may also be complimentary to each other. The pattern of relationships between two categories of ethnicity would depend on positions and relations of ethnics and ethnic groups in society. This will, therefore, lead us to propose several hypotheses specifying relationships between ethnic identification, ethnic

characteristics, and ethnics' participatory behavior after we review more literature pertinent to ethnicity, stratification and communication.

As Yancy, Erickson and Juliani point out, the analysis of ethnicity in the literature has been dominated by an argument between the "assimilationist and pluralist" perspectives.[12]

According to the assimilationist perspective, ethnicity disappears over time and with continual contacts with the core host society. Gordon has asserted that descendants of immigrants exhibit relatively few characteristics which distinguish them from other Americans; they integrate fully with other Americans and maintain a low level of identification with their ethnic group.[13] Dahl argues that ethnic political consciousness declines as members of succeeding generations attain higher social status. Tinker and Kikumura and Kitano have studied Japanese-American marriage patterns and found that both the pattern and the rate of intermarriage have changed noticeably through generations and as a result of upward mobility.[14] A similar trend is noted in mother-tongue shift among ethnics living in Canada and America.[15] According to the assimilationist position, therefore, social mobility and continual contacts with a host society weaken ethnic intra-group relations and erode ethnic identity. The position suggests a direct relationship between ethnic assimilation and social class by relating class to mobility, the end of ethnic neighborhoods, intra-group interactions and ethnic identification; with an increase in income and the accompanying mobility, ethnics melt into a host society and lose their ethnic identity.

The pluralist position, on the other hand, emphasizes the persistence of ethnicity as the basis of the continued importance of ethnic groups. Glazer and Moynihan argue that ethnicity pervades all spheres of life among ethnic groups in America and bluntly reject the melting pot myth by saying: "The point about the melting pot is that it did not happen."[16] In research con-

cerned with ethnic politics, Greeley, Parenti and Wolfinger, among others, have found that ethnic Americans possess political orientations different from those of non-ethnics and that ethnic voting patterns persist for many generations.[17] Wolfinger points out that ethnic voting patterns persist into the second and third generations and social changes occured in these generations have not reduced the political importance of national origins.[18] In other categories of ethnicity, Sengstock notes that American-reared members of ethnic group (Chaldeans) exhibited continued immigrant traits with regard to their personal identification; some American-reared members of this group continued to identify with their own ethnic community after they had dropped many other aspects of their ethnic socio-cultural patterns, such as language and customs.[19] Abramson notes that ethnic variation in religious behavior over generations is more frequently the case, depending not as much on the influence of the American residence as on the religio-ethnic culture itself.[20] Kourvetaris and Dobratz show high rates of intermarriage and formation of friendship within ethnicity and class than one would get by chance: "There seems to be a very pervasive tendency to form intimate relations within one's own ethnicity and class. This is true regardless of one's social class."[21] Cohen also shows that indicators of ethnic assimilation (inter-ethnic marriage and friendship) and of social class are generally unrelated.[22]

Thus, the major research questions in this argument have concerned with the extent to which ethnics have become acculturated and assimilated. Here we need Gordon's influential distinction between assimilation and acculturation. Acculturation is the acquisition of the native culture, while social or structural assimilation is the integration of ethnics at the primary level, including kinship, neighbors and close friends.[23] This distinction can also be in line with our distinction between two categories of ethnicity discussed above. Another major questions are the impact of class (socio-economic status)

on acculturation and assimilation. Thus, the social stratification of and within ehtnic groups requires attention.

Stratification

The importance of class in the study of ethnics is noted in the fact that the social rankings of some ethnic groups roughly correspond to data on "social distance." Others have pointed out that people retaining their ethnicity tend to be blue-co lar residents stranded in urban neighborhoods; with an increase in income and the accompanying mobility, these ethnics move to heterogeneous surburbs and lose their ethnic identification, according to the assimilationist perspective. As noted, however, the position of class in the ethnic literature is of considerable controversy.

Van de Berghe argues that it is essential to differentiate ethnicity from class: "These two fundamental bases of differentiation in complex agrarian and industrial societies are always interrelated, but never in a simple preordained fashion." [24] Sometimes class and ethnic categories overlap nearly completely. For example, being an Indian and a peasant are nearly coterminous in Peru; in other places, ethnic groups are proportionately represented at each class level. Gordon looks at both class and ethnicity functioning for the individual in at least three ways: (1) as a source of particular cultural patterns, (2) as the social area of most primary and many secondary relations, and (3) as a referent of group identification. He notes that people tend to limit social participation to their own social class within their own ethnic group -- the "ethclass," and argues that class is more important than ethnicity in the display of patterns of social behavior.[25]

However, the importance of class has been questioned by many researchers. Klorman points out that the primacy of social class exaggerates the importance of instrumental rewards and ignores other important lines of cleavage, such

as ethnicity.[26] Abramson notes that an ethnic community is an alternative form of social organization to class and ethnicity is an alternative form of identification to class consciousness. He argues that ethnicity, like class, is a changeable status that may or may not be articulated in a particular context or at particular times.[27]

Marger notes that we need to study the interplay of ethnic and class statuses to determine how they are mutually reinforcing and when they are simply kept in separate compartments:[28]

> "we need to know ... to what degree interpersonal relations are shaped by class factors and to what degree by ethnic factors. How much do cultural orientations reflect class position and how much ethnic background? To what extent is one's group identity conceived in terms of ethnic status or class status? And, most critically, when and to what degree will the dominant groups of the society view the person in ethnic terms and when and to what degree in class terms? (p. 22)

He hypothesizes that "the greater the span between an individual's ethnic group and the dominant one, the greater the possibility that social status will be assigned on the basis of ethnicity" and notes that we can generalize from the U.S., Canada and Northern Ireland that "the more acute the ethnic cleavage in the society, the lower the degree of class consciousness."[29]

Social stratification has been linked to ethnic group assimilation, but the way in which the social class-status and ethnic variables perform in the assimilation process is complicated. Eckert argues that more heterogeneous ethnic groups assimilate more quickly because the disappearance of common ethnic bond allows social and economic differences to surface and dominate.[30] Spiro says the U.S. class system prevents mobility of the unacculturated.[31] Borhek's model of the breakdown of ethnic group cohesion posits a major role for formal education, the most important determinant of both homogeneity of friendship choices and the expression of assimilationist attitudes. However, Laumann's study does not support Borhek's model, though it does not support

the melting pot view of assimilation either.[32] Gans seems to find more intensive social interaction with class than ethnic peers as class status rises;[33] however, Baltzell's description notes that evident class consciousness exists only at the pinnacle of the U.S. social hierarchy and not in the middle or lower classes.[34] Abramson suggests that ehtnicity may be less visible at middle class than lower class levels.[35] Using interethnic marriage and friendship as indicators of ethnic assimilation, Cohen finds they are generally unrelated to social class (education, occupational prestige, income and father's education-occupational prestige). However, he does find a relationship between social class (especially education) and ethnic assimilation among recently-arrived ethnic groups. He thus concludes that measurement of more dimensions of ethnicity is needed and that social class affects only some dimensions of assimilation.[36]

The available evidence in the literature, then, suggests that while social class is perhaps the most pervasive and powerful in groupings of subcultures (ethnic socialization), ethnic subgroups (defined in terms of race nationality or religion) are also signficant, especially at lower class levels. The fact that ethnic identification, cultural orientation and primary group relations are largely voluntary contributes to the volitility of "consciousness" in multi-ethnic class societies, people may be opting for either class or ethnicity in varying degrees. Also, as noted in different dimensions of ethnicity, the strength of class or ethnic identification should correlate with the degree of primary group interaction with either an ethnic or class contenxt, if participational ethnic identification is based on shared behavioral patterns.

The stratification of ethnic groups has also been noted. Hechter notes in a British study that ethnic solidarity among peripheral groups results not from isolation but their dependent position in the social structure,[37] but

Laumann says that residential segregation of ethnic groups generally parallels rankings of ethnic groups.[38] However, the stratification of ethnic groups at least within the U.S. is apparently changing as more recently arrived immigrant groups move up the socio-economic status ladder, as noted by Greeley.[39] Guest and Weed have found declines in residential segregation for "newer" ethnic groups from southern and eastern Europe but increases in segregation for old ethnic groups. They argue that ethnic segregation would continue to exist even of social status differences among ethnic groups disappear.[40] Thus, ethnic neighborhoods would exist regardless of social stratification. In an Australian study, Burnley concludes that ethnicity commonly accentuates social rank differences between areas of the cities by increasing social segregation.[41] Lieberson also notes that groups which are highly segregated in urban areas maintain high levels of segregation in even affluent surburbs.[42] Ethnicity also differentiates apparently homogeneous areas. Darroch and Marston note that several ethnic characteristics generate patterns of residential segregation, including period of immigration and religion. However, they also recognize that further clarification of the relationsip between social class and residential segregation is needed: "We do not yet know, for example, either the manner in which all the various dimensions of ethnicity are inter-related, or, perhaps more strategically, how they relate to the separate dimensions of socioeconomic status."[43]

Group size can also be linked to its social structural characteristics. The size-urbanization (heterogeneity) relationship cited by Greer for cities[44] can be found for ethnic groups, where we would expect larger ethnic groups to be more heterogeneous in terms of socioeconomic status. Though size of ethnic group in a metropolitan area would be dependent upon a variety of factors in the long run (e.g., migration flow and policies, job opportunities, flow of communication), at a point in time size could affect the group's spatial

distribution, including concentration in ethnic neighborhoods and location in central cities or surburbs. This, in turn, would affect group interaction and communication patterns. Greer shows that urbanization is a continuum and that there are different types of neighborhoods in terms of interaction. In low urban areas social position is defined by common interests and associations, more like a small community or neighborhood. In high urban areas social position is defined by one's position in other organizational contexts and social life is centered around informal social groups.[45] Wirth assumes that rural social relations tend to be primary in character (family, relatives, peers), while those in urban society tend to be secondary (occupation, organization).[46] However, the very variety of social relationships found in cities contradicts this view. There are primary relationships and even "villages" in cities; Tomeh notes greater informal social participation in surburbs than in cities.[47] In other words, communication and interaction takes place in many contexts, with different social structural characteristics and behavioral patterns. Below, therefore, we will review the literature pertinent to ethnic communication.

Communication

Communication is the link between ethnics, their neighborhoods, and the demands of the external environment. Greer observes that communication relevant to a neighborhood takes place through two channels -- voluntary organizations in the locale and the community press.[48] Interpersonal communication also takes place in many contexts; it is unavoidable with the neighbors at bus stops, schools and grocery corners, on sidewalks, over backyards -- casual interaction among those whose paths must cross. Thus, both interpersonal and mass communication channels are instrumental to the processes which provide continuity to ethnic groups.

What is the role of interpersonal and mass communication in the relations

between different ethnics and within ethnic groups? If strong communication links can help maintain close ethnic ties and identification, the lack of such links may weaken ethnic relations and identification.

Complex models employing communication concepts have been introduced in the past few years to account for ethnicity. Goldlust and Richmond present a multivariate model of immigrant adaptation that focuses on ethnic identification and includes as important factors: low reliance on ethnic mass media, language, low ethnic social distance, dissimilarity of spouse and friends, cognitive acculturation, education, social mobility, economic achievement, length of residence and low age of arrival, and primary integration. Finding education and length of residence as the most important predictive determinants, they identify five typologies of immigrant adaptation related to the Canadian situation.[49] Laumann presents a model for the analysis of individual friendship (communication) networks. His hypothetical model places the structure of interpersonal networks between individual characterisitcs and ethnic identification, as well as other social and occupational attitudes. Thus, Laumann notes the importance of both individual traits and characteristics (demographics, soicoeconomic characteristics and personality traits), achievement-based (occupation) and ascriptive-based (ethnicity) social groups, and spatially-inclusive areas (homogeneity and spatial distribution), and assumes that social networks mediate between social positions and actual attitudes and behaviors.[50] Kim presents a causal model of communication patterns of immigrants in the process of acculturation and notes the significant contribution of both interpersonal and mass communication experiences to the development of a refined and realistics perception and understanding of the host country. In her study of Korean immigrants to the U.S., Kim identifies four causal factors as major determinants of the immigrants' communication patterns -- language competence, acculturation motivation, and

accessibility to both interpersonal and mass communication channels. She also notes that these four factors are affected by some common characteristics of the Korean immigrants, including educational background, sex, length of stay in the U.S., and age at the time of immigration.[51] Thus, all three studies cited above have placed the importance of communication into the process of acculturation or maintainance of ethnicity and emphasized the role of communication as a mediating factor between individual characteristics and actual attitudes and behaviors.

Assimilation of minority ethnics is frustrated by the way groups handle information. Hickman notes that to maintain ethnicity, ethnics tend to place thought and action in compartments; potentially conflicting aptterns are kept separate.[52] Fathi argues that the language and culture of Canada's ethnic minorities today are less in danger of extinction because of the advance of communication technology that greatly facilitates contact between people of similar cultures, separated by distance.[53] Sengstock notes that ethnics with more contact with the "mother country" should have stronger ethnic identification. Such ties (letters, telephone calls, traveling and ethnic mass media consumption) may slow acculturation if the mother country's culture is somewhat stable.[54]

Communication within ethnic groups can lead to greater group cohesion and ethnic identity. Deutsch notes that communication links within groups reflect the extent to which an individual is integrated within that group.[55] Since culture is a perspective shared by members of a group, the development of concensus would depend upon people's participation in common communication channels. Wheeler notes that members of a social group tend to hold similar values and may have similar behavior patterns "because of intra-group communication and access to common channels of information."[56] Wigand notes that interacting with people holding the same values and norms leads to greater

self-actualization and increased self-esteem that are vital in the process of self-identification.[57]

The more extensive treatment of interpersonal relationships among different ethnic groups is found in Laumann's Detroit area study. In that study, he identifies friendship networks as interlocking (one's friends know each other) or radial (one's friends don't know each other) and notes ascriptive-based ethnoreligious networks more congenial to the emergence of interlocking networks than achievement-based occupational networks, which tend to be more radial in comparison. Homogeneously ethnoreligious networks are also related to interest in ethnic matters and the mother country, and preference to marry an ethnic. Laumann also finds that men in pure homogeneous networks belong to more voluntary associations than do those in pure heterogeneous networks, especially among highly educated people. Novak describes the "Saturday ethnics" who live in non-ethnic neighborhoods, but who have high ethnic identifcation and who maintain ties through ethnic organizations, churches, and ethnic festivals and celebrations.[58] Voluntary associations provide stability to ethnic groups by helping acquire and distribute power, by representing interests for social change or maintainance of the status quo, by socialization and by involving members in interpersonal communication networks. Orleans points out that secondary organizations may generate primary ties not depending on spatial contiguity for their sustenance. Kutner data on voluntary association participation among low-income members of major ethnic groups in the U.S. show blacks the most active, followed by whites, Mexican-Americans, Italian-Americans and Puerto-Ricans. She concludes that ethnic variation in participation is related to urbanism, ethnic identity and other factors like involvement in informal social networks.[59] Furthermore, Laumann notes no relationship between membership in voluntary organizations and alienation, dogmatism or powerlessness. The effect of such membership is found to

be an artifact of socioeconomic status,[60] and it can be furthermore expected that increased involvement in voluntary organizations and other informal social networks would lead to increased ethnic identification.

What about the role of mass communication in ethnicity. Unfortunately, the impact of mass media on "groups" has virtually been ignored by researchers. The essential mechanism by which mass media can affect ethnic groups over the long run is through affecting the assimilation process or maintenance of ethnic groups. Here we need make a distinction between metropolitan mass media serving majority of people and ethnic mass media serving minority ethnics. Certainly, metro mass media provide out-group linkages for ethnics and would strengthen inter-group links while weakening intra-group links. It is thus expected that metro mass media weaken ethnic ties and ethnic identity. Shibutani and Kwan note that mass communication is likely to break down the walls of ethnocentrism. Increasing availability of translated novels and of foreign films and television programs facilitates the "establsihment of identification" and enables audiences to participate vicariously in the lives of others.[61] Katz notes that using the mass media to change commonly-held images of groups is an example of cultural change.[62] Kim and others show that use of the host country's mass media is positively related to the immigrants' acculturation.

In contrast, the reverse process would be expected for ethnic mass media communication, which would strengthen intra-group links and supplement interpersonal communication channels in relations to ethnic identity. By providing information about the ethnic community and the mother country, ethnic mass media seem to meet the needs of ethnics not fulfilled by the metropolitan mass media. Lyle notes that ethnic media exist for the unassimilated ethnic whose life still centers around ethnic enclaves in many city neighborhoods.[63] Ward and Gaziano point to the appearance of neighborhood-

produced newspapers and newsletters serving some of the urban communication functions previously envisioned as likely ones for cable television.[64] Jeffres and Hur document a list of "things liked" about ethnic newspapers and radio among 13 ethnic groups in the metropolitan Cleveland area, including local ethnic news, news from the "old country," ethnic language, culture, religion and music. They also note that ethnic mass media use is positively related to ethnicity measures such as ethnic identification, ethnic neighborhoods, membership and activity in ethnic organizations, and observance of ethnic customs.[65] The available evidence thus suggests that there is the logic to relate ethnic mass media communication to ethnicity. Ethnic mass communication would reinforce ethnicity in conjunction with ethnic interpersonal communication. It can be further expected that ethnics, particularly those in heterogeneous environments, would use ethnic mass media as a substitute for, or supplement to interpersonal communication channels to maintain ethnicity. Since the breadth of ethnic mass media is well illustrated by the list of newspapers and radio stations which target some content at ethnic audiences,[66] inclusion of ethnic media in the accountability of ethnic factors is necessary.

Theoretical Model and Propositions

Our review of the relevant literature in ethnicity available in various disciplines suggests that seldom have researchers had the inclination or resources to approach to the multidimensional concepts of ethnicity from a combined perspective of sociology, political science, psychology, anthropology, etc. In the face of inadequate ethnicity research, Schermerhorn develops eight major categories which he subdevides into a number of variables: demographic and economic variables; educational variables; kinship organizational variables; political and military dimensions; association

and communication networks; stratification patterns; belief systems; and social actions and interactions.[67] A similar approach has also been suggested by Kolm.[68] However, neither has provided a conceptual framework in which linkages between variables were specified.

On the basis of the literature and reasoning described above, therefore, we propose a conceptual model for the systematic analysis of ethnicity in which relationships between socio-structural variables, communication variables and ethnicity variables can be specified and thus tested. Figure 1 shows a theoretical model which illustrates several sets of variables and their relationships pertinent to our study of ethnicity, communication and urban stratification. We'll first describe several sets of variables that will be considered in the model analysis and then discuss linkages between these sets of variables in the form of propositions.

-- INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE --

Spatial Variables: Included here are ethnic neighborhood (percentage of neighbors who are the same ethnic) and urbanism (whether ethnics live in the central city or in suburbs).

Structural Variables: Group status and individual rankings are based on the three factors usually used as the basis for measures of stratification -- education, income and occupation.

Ethnic Interpersonal Communication: A variety of factors are conducive to interpersonal communication within ethnic groups, including: membership and participation in ethnic organizations (number of ethnic social, religious and cultural organizations to which ethnics belong and degree of activities in these organizations), friendship networks (percentage of friends who are the same ethnic and frequency of contacts with these friends), living in ethnic neighborhoods and contacts with ethnic neighbors, and finally contacts with the mother

country by correspondence and traveling (frequency of correspondence with relatives and friends in the mother country and frequency of traveling to the mother country). Similar operational measures can be applied to ethnic interpersonal communication across different ethnic groups (e.g., communications and contacts with members of other ethnic groups).

Metropolitan Mass Media Communication: Several different mass media usage variables are important, including: frequency of media use measures (newspaper and magazine reading, radio listening, television viewing, and movie-going), media content preference and actual exposure to different media content (different types of news and entertainment available in the mass media), media evaluations (perceived evaluations of the media performance in providing news and entertainment), and preferred sources of information about the ethnic community and the mother country (mixing all communication channels).

Ethnic Mass Media Communication: Included here are the same media usage variables with regard to the ethnic mass media available. In addition to ethnic newspapers, a variety of ethnic radio programs, ethnic books and magazines are available.

Psychological Characteristics of Ethnicity: Included here are ethnic self-identification, self-image or stereotype, and self-esteem. Measures of these concepts can included statements and questions such as: "I am proud to be an (ethnic)"; "Given a choice, I'd rather associate with the same ethnics than others"; "I intend to socialize my children in my own ethnic heritage"; "Do you consider yourself 'an integrated American,' 'an American of (ethnic) descent,' or 'an ethnic living in America'?"

Behavioral Characteristics of Ethnicity: Among these are ethnic language use, inter-marriage, observance of ethnic holidays and customs, and preparation of ethnic food.

Other Demographic and External Factors: Included here are age, sex, place of birth, age at the time of immigration, length of stay in the host country, and size of ethnic group in the host country.

Although our model is limited to these sets of variables presented above, additional variables can be taken into considerations in specific tests (e.g., political and social attitudes of ethnics, political and religious affiliation).

Propositions

Our examination of the research literature, major perspectives and concepts has produced a variety of fruitful areas for research. Following is a list of research propositions which could be subjected to testing. (It must also be noted that some of these propositions have been generalized by previous research; in this case, previous reserch sources will be identified).

1. Larger ethnic groups are more likely to be heterogeneous on socio-economic status dimensions than are smaller ones.
2. If small groups have more extensive intergroup relations than large ones, small ethnic groups should have stronger communication networks linking them to outgroups than larger ethnic groups.
3. The larger the ethnic group, the greater the percentage of marriages to spouses from other ethnic groups.
4. If group size affects intragroup association, then we would expect greater ingroup communication networks among larger than smaller ethnic groups.
5. If the probability of associations with different persons increases with the size and population density of a community, we would expect more contact between ethnic groups in larger and denser communities.
6. There is a positive relationship between percentage of friends from the same ethnic group and group size (Laumann, 1973).

7. Ethnic residential segregation restricts intergroup personal contact (Marston and Van Valley, 1979).
8. Ethnic segregation would continue to exist even if social status differences among ethnic groups disappeared (Guest and Weed, 1976).
9. If physical segregation impedes outgroup relations, then living in ethnic neighborhoods should be related to fewer outgroup links represented by interpersonal communication networks, though not necessarily by mass communication linkages.
10. Structural assimilation (intergroup personal contact) is inhibited by ethnic segregation and that impact is independent of social class, ethnicity, age and other factors (Gordon, 1964).
11. People tend to limit social participation to their own social class within their own ethnic group -- the "ethclass" (Gordon 1964).
12. Intermarriage, friendship and other relations are stronger within class than between each (Kourvetaris and Dobratz, 1976).
13. More intensive social interaction is found with class than ethnic peers as class status rises (Gans, 1962), but class consciousness may exist at only the pinnacle of social hierarchy.
14. Ethnicity is less visible at middle than lower class levels (Abramson, 1973).
15. There is greater informal social participation in suburbs than in cities (Tomeh, 1964).
16. Ethnic organizations may replace spatial contiguity in generating primary ties.
17. Less educated men with homogeneous friendships were less likely to belong to voluntary association than men in heterogeneous networks (Laumann, 1973).

18. If a pattern of symmetry is expected in interpersonal links but less so in links created by ethnic mass communication, then we may expect no difference in mass and interpersonal communication relationships with group ethnic identification, but interpersonal communication should be more related to group cohesion.

19. Interpersonal communication networks and their characteristics mediate the effect of individual characteristics (demographics, SES, personality traits) and ethnic identification, social and political attitudes (Laumann, 1973).

20. Communication strengthens intra-group ties even when ethnic members are separated by distance rather than concentrated in neighborhoods (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965).

21. The development of ethnic group consensus and cohesion depends on people's participation in common communication channels (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965).

22. Consumption of ethnic mass media should strengthen ethnic group ties, while metro mass media consumption should weaken intra-group ties.

23. Consumption of ethnic mass media should increase people's knowledge of their own ethnic group and how it relates to the larger society.

24. Consumption of ethnic print media should be related to higher education, higher income and occupational status, male and older persons.

25. Ethnics with more contact with the "mother country" should have stronger ethnic identification (e.g., letters, phone calls, travel, mass media consumption) and acculturate more slowly if the "mother culture" is rather stable (Sengstock, 1977).

26. Assimilation should be stronger with later generations and higher social status (Cohen, 1977).

27. Ethnic friendship networks are more homogeneous among second and third generations than first generations (Laumann, 1973).

28. Ethnic group cohesion is linked to high degree of intermarriage and geographical proximity as much as to ethnic association (Sengstock, 1977).

29. More heterogeneous ethnic groups are more likely to assimilate more quickly because of the disappearance of common ethnic bonds (Eckert, 1976); so we would expect lower ethnic identification among more heterogeneous ethnic groups.

30. There would be positive relationships between ethnic self-image, self-esteem and ethnic self-identity.

31. Psychological characteristics of ethnicity (e.g., ethnic identification, image and esteem) are not necessarily correlated with objective, behavioral characteristics of ethnicity (e.g., language use, intermarriage, observance of customs). Linkages between the two would rather depend on socio-structural, communication and stratification situation, meaning all of the previous propositions that are subject to testing.

Conclusion

The preceding list is imposing and our task would be sufficiently challenging if we limit ourselves to replicating the empirical generalizations and testing the propositions. The list also shows the magnitude of our task in relating research and conceptualization in these areas: mass and interpersonal communication, ethnicity-assimilation, achievement-oriented/economic stratification. This is by no means a simple task, but the systematic testing of the various propositions could and should be made in the future.

One function of theory construction and conceptualization is parsimony, and on that measure this paper would fail. Instead, this paper has attempted to provide specific ways to note the complexities of the undertaking. In such an attempt, we have two explicit assumptions. First we have based our approach on empirical science where data, representing "mother-nature reality", would have a chance to say "yes" or "no" to our questions. Second, our assumption was more of a clarification; we have attempted to sort our relationships, concepts and perspectives which were often subject to confusion in social science because in part researchers have sorted themselves into either psychology or sociology rather than considering ethnicity across the full range of social science.

It is our hope that these two assumptions have been met in this paper and will be met by future research.

FOOTNOTES

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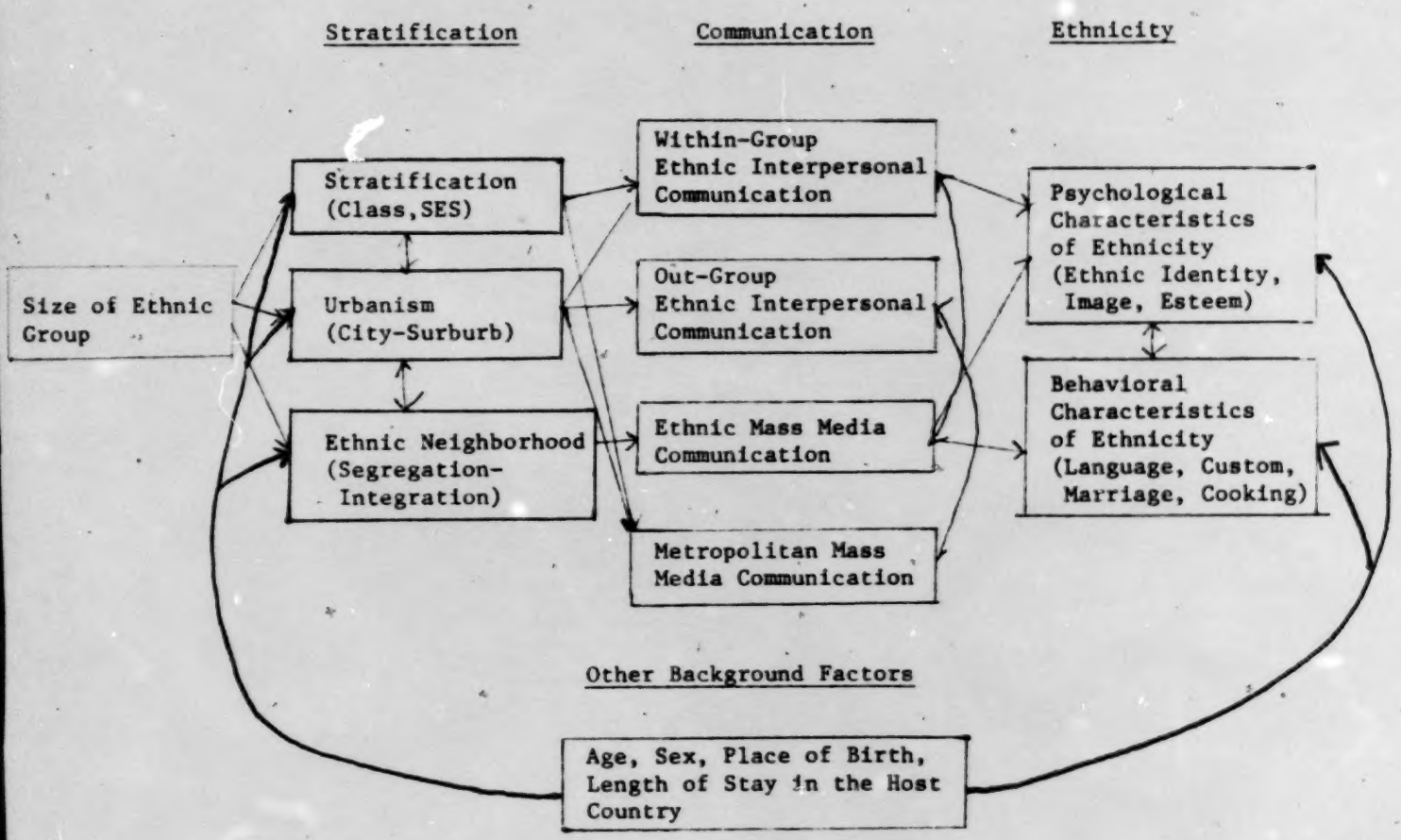
FIGURE 1

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF
ETHNICITY, COMMUNICATION AND URBAN STRATIFICATION


Stratification
Communication
Ethnicity
Stratification (Class, SES)
Urbanism (City-Surburb)
Ethnic Neighborhood (Segregation-Integration)
Size of Ethnic Group
Within-Group Ethnic Interpersonal Communication
Out-Group Ethnic Interpersonal Communication
Ethnic Mass Media Communication
Metropolitan Mass Media Communication
Psychological Characteristics of Ethnicity (Ethnic Identity, Image, Esteem)
Behavioral Characteristics of Ethnicity (Language, Custom, Marriage, Cooking)
Other Background Factors
Age, Sex, Place of Birth, Length of Stay in the Host Country